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munitions left behind by the American Expeditionary Forces are being loaded in American ships for the same destination.

We are told that the commander of the *Pittsburgh* has orders "to see that the munitions landed at Danzig are dispatched to Warsaw," whether Sir Reginald Tower agrees or not. Supplies of all kinds, including munitions of war purchased from this government, are being openly loaded into ships at American ports and sent to Poland. One Shipping Board vessel has recently taken a cargo at Philadelphia; while another, the *Warsowa*, is now at Antwerp loaded with munitions obtained from the American army on the Rhine. By such means the United States Government is now giving aid to Poland "by all available means." Strikes among the longshoremen at Philadelphia and Antwerp have been based upon opposition to this loading and handling vessels carrying munitions of war to Europe. With our correspondent, we, too, should like to know if we are at war, and, if so, by whose authority?

### NEWNESS IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

THERE IS a certain newness in the more recent approaches to the settlement of international questions. This is felt in every gathering where international questions are discussed. A conference held in the State of California during the month of August is a case in point. It was assumed by those who took part in that conference that the particular difficulties of governments rested on problems of population, of supplies and raw materials, of manufactured goods, and of contrasting ideals of civilization. So experts were brought in to give the latest facts relating to the growth of world population, to the causes and effects of migration, and as to the probabilities during the coming generation. Some of the speakers dealt with the problem of present and future supplies of raw materials, while others attempted to define the struggle for physical existence and economic contentment in its relations to the evolution of the race.

The local color of this particular conference was reflected in the questions raised: For example, How far do the facts enable us to go in attributing to "cheap labor," to the "standards of life," to "race prejudice," the various complications incident to the immigration policy of the nations? How far can a civilization develop its city life at the expense of the rural population, without the danger of degeneration? What known facts of biology and anthropology affect the problems of orientalism in North America, and what are their significance to the issues of race fertility and miscegenation?

What is the character of allegiance the family and the state may exact of each other when national policies conflict?

The clergymen, journalists, scientists, actuaries, educators, meeting for the discussion of such questions, illustrated the desire to base policies upon facts. Evidently sentimentality entered little into the talk. It was a business conference interested in results. To attend such a conference means more knowledge of the fundamental issues of contemporary civilization, more international mindedness in the best sense of that term. Such a conference, conducted in such a way and in such a spirit, indicates the kind of peace conference we must now plan for and encourage.

### THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

THE INTERNATIONAL Financial Conference opened in Brussels September 24, ostensibly under the auspices of the League of Nations. At this writing it is in session. Invitations were sent not only to the members of the League, but to the United States, Luxemburg, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria. Improving upon the methods employed by the League of Nations, all nations are permitted to take part in the deliberations on an equal footing. Because of the neutrality of the Swiss Confederation, M. Ador, former president of the Republic, has been chosen president of the conference. Fourteen printed pamphlets containing the mass of facts relating to the economic conditions of the various governments have been submitted to the conference. The plan to limit the political questions and to cluster the discussions around the purely-economic conditions shows the attempt to make the discussions of practical financial import. It should be observed, therefore, that the conference is more a conference of experts than of nations. Indeed, the conference is not a conference of the League of Nations. Its findings are in the form of recommendations only and are wholly without binding force.

As is the way of international conferences, each group of representatives is given a short period of time, about fifteen minutes, in which to state the financial situation of its home government, particularly as regards budget, internal and foreign debts, credits, and money exchange. That is followed by a general discussion of those factors most closely related to the re-establishment of credit.

Such a conference of experts should have an illuminating effect in the chancelleries of the world. The practices of our financial men everywhere cannot help being modified by such a meeting of minds. But, what-

ever the direct economic effect of the meeting, the nature of this organization shows the return to sane methods of international effort. States not members of the League participate on equal terms with States in the League. Government officials, bankers, and commercial men vote not as international groups, but as individuals. Decisions reached are to take simply the form of recommendations to the various governments. Thus they will be without binding force unless ratified by the nations to whom the recommendations are made. No Article X or XVI of the League of Nations here. The publicity seems complete. We have before us, therefore, a Hague Conference in miniature. Such a meeting will lead to other and still more important international conferences. The rational methods of handling international disputes approach.

### THE ATTITUDE OF FOREIGN LABOR TOWARD WAR

IT NOW appears that the military wing of governments must reckon with organized forces of labor. Evidence of this accumulates. The war-making and peace-defining agencies of governments find themselves reckoning even with labor groups radical in their policies, bent upon extremism; but among practically all of the labor groups, especially abroad, military action in behalf of nationalism is openly and incorrigibly opposed. Owing to the conservative character of our people and to the control of our organized labor by "moderates," this newer aspect of anti-militarism has not taken concrete form in the United States; but statesmen abroad are facing the phenomenon with no little trepidation.

The International Miners' Congress at its last conference decided to order a universal shut-down in production of fuel rather than have the masses undergo a repetition of the war experiences of 1914-18.

British Government officials, expediting transmission of supplies to military opponents of the Russian Soviet Government, have had their shipping operations blocked by the refusal of marine workers to handle the goods.

German Government officials assenting, the transmission of ships and supplies through the Kiel Canal has been checked by workers sympathizing more or less with Russia, refusing to let Poland be reinforced in a military way.

British military operations in Ireland have been hampered by refusal of the transport workers to carry food and supplies to the troops and to the constabulary. British trades-unionism, by its peremptory notice, served on the Premier in August, forced him to moderate his Polish policy.

In the Far East, Japan has begun to see that her proletariat will no longer show unquestioning loyalty to the throne or meek acceptance of conscription for national glory; and even in China the laboring classes, led by Chinese who were in Europe during the war and who caught the revolutionary disease, are now preparing to shape the national policy as well as to fight the strongly entrenched merchants' guilds. To no inconsiderable extent much of the delay in "composing" the world after the war that defeated Germany has been due to the fact that government negotiators have had to reckon with this new factor in peace-making. Old-fashioned statesmen have plotted and planned as if only they had to agree on boundaries, to parcel out territory, and to impose reparations. They have been taught since the armistice that there is a rapidly increasing proportion of Europe's and of Asia's population that will not fight to enforce these bargainings. Social reconstruction and abolition of war as a method of settling disputes interest the workers there more than the preservation or extension of political entities. The first nation candidly to recognize this epoch-marking change and adjust its ethics and its administrative and its diplomatic technique to the fact will be the first to emerge from the ruck of the present turmoil and to get started on the way to economic rehabilitation, to internal peace, and to friendly relations with the rest of the world.

### THE PASSING OF BULLETS AND MONISM

DURING THE war, more American boys were killed and wounded by gas than by bullets. This terrible means of destruction was particularly effective in surprise attacks. We are now told by our War Department that of 266,112 admissions to the American hospitals in France, 88,980 were due to gas. This number is 33.4 per cent, while our casualties from gunshot missiles were 32 per cent, shrapnel 15.2 per cent, shell 8 per cent, 1,156 being wounded by hand-grenades and 245 by bayonets. Furthermore, we are told that these figures are true in spite of the fact that the Germans often ran short of gas. On the other hand, at the time of the Armistice we of the United States had one chlorine plant capable of manufacturing from ten to fifteen times as much gas as the Germans were able to make altogether. If the war had continued, we would have had enough gas to overwhelm the enemy in every battle. Thus, if wars are to continue, we must adjust our minds to the fact that our boys will go down not because of bullets, shells, and the like, but because of asphyxiating gases.